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1995/05/18

PRIORITY

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ACTION: CR(05)

INFO: EAP(04) P(01) RA(01) UN(01)
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ACTION EAP-00

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 ACDE-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 OASY-00
DODE-00 DOEE-00 EB-00 FBIE-00 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00
IO-00 L-00 ADS-00 M-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-00 PRS-01 P-01 SP-00 SR-00
SS-00 STR-01 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 SA-00 PMB-00
PRNE-01 DRL-00 G-00 /048W

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P 180538Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3528
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 017629

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUN, PCOV, CH
SUBJECT: INTELLECTUALS PETITION FOR "TOLERANCE",
RE-EVALUATION OF TIANANMEN

REF: (A) BEIJING 16551, (B) BEIJING 05211,
(C) BEIJING 5641, (D) BEIJING 11406
(E) BEIJING 16554

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. A GROUP OF 45 CHINESE INTELLECTUALS HAS
PRESENTED A BOLD PETITION TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI
CALLING ON THE AUTHORITIES TO TOLERATE PEACEFUL
EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS,
REEVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND RELEASE THOSE
IMPRISONED FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES IN 1989 OR FOR THEIR
POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. THEY LINKED THIS
CALL TO A UNITED NATIONS PROCLAMATION OF 1995 AS A
"YEAR FOR TOLERANCE."

END SUMMARY.

CALL FOR TOLERANCE

3. A BOLD PETITION, SIGNED BY 45 INDIVIDUALS, MOSTLY
SCIENTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS (BUT INCLUDING A FEW
WELL-KNOWN DISSIDENTS SUCH AS WANG DAN, LIU NIANCHUN,
AND DING ZILIN), BEGAN CIRCULATING IN BEIJING LATE ON
MAY 16. POLOFF RECEIVED A COPY OF THE PETITION AND A
COVER LETTER ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN AND
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CHAIRMAN QIAO SHI, BOTH
DATED MAY 15, FROM A JOURNALIST ON THE EVENING OF MAY

16. IN THE TEXT (AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF
THE TEXT APPEARS IN PARA 10), PETITIONERS CALLED FOR
GREATER TOLERANCE OF DISSENTING POLITICAL AND
RELIGIOUS VIEWS, TYING THEIR PLEA TO THE UN

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RESOLUTION PROCLAIMING 1995 THE "YEAR OF TOLERANCE."
WHILE THE PETITION TOUCHED ON THE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE
QUESTION OF RE-EVALUATING THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT, ITS
TONE WAS REASONED, CONSTRUCTIVE AND MODERATE.

4. WHILE A FEW OF THE SIGNATORIES HAD ALSO SIGNED
PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
IN FEBRUARY (REFS B AND C), THERE WAS LITTLE
OVERLAP. MOST WERE AFFILIATED WITH THE CHINESE
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
OR MAJOR UNIVERSITIES. NOTED DISSIDENTS CHEN ZIMING,
XU WENLI, ZHOU DUO AND OTHERS DID NOT SIGN THE MAY 15
PETITION.

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FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE UN AND IT IS ALSO A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH VETO POWER. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION, CAUSING THE RELATIVELY UNFAMILIAR SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TO TAKE ROOT IN OUR COUNTRY'S FIELD OF POLITICS, IDEOLOGY, RELIGION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

TOLERANCE IS A MARK OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION. IT IS A

PRECONDITION AND BASIS FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION. WESTERN ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF TOLERANCE IN THEIR LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORIAL CONTROL BY THE THEOCRATIC POWERS OF WORLD FEUDALISM. THEY AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, AFTER

ACHIEVING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, DID NOT GO DOWN THE OLD ROAD OF HISTORIC DICTATORIAL MONARCHY; INSTEAD THEY EMPHASIZED CITIZENS' BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AS BASIC PRINCIPLES IN ESTABLISHING THEIR COUNTRIES. THEY DID NOT DEMAND THAT ALL HAVE THE SAME OPINIONS AND TOOK THE ATTITUDE OF PERMITTING ALL SORTS OF THOUGHT, BELIEFS, CUSTOMS AND ACTS. THEY PERMITTED THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE MINORITY TO BE FREELY AND OPENLY DISPLAYED (INCLUDING ASPECTS OF POLITICS, RELIGION, SCIENCE AND ARTS AND CULTURE). BECAUSE THEY HAD THIS SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE, SCIENCE AND CULTURE EXPERIENCED LONG TERM PROSPERITY. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NO REPETITION OF THE HISTORICAL TRAGEDIES SUCH AS CONSIDERING HERESIES AS SCOURGES OR THE BURNING TO DEATH OF BRUNO OR TORTURE TO FORCE GALILEO TO GIVE UP HIS THEORY OF THE EARTH MOVING THROUGH THE HEAVENS.

IN EXAMINING THE CULTURE OF OUR ANCIENT COUNTRY, SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS OF INTOLERANCE AND NOT PERMITTING ALTERNATIVE VOICES HAS EXISTED EVEN UNTIL TODAY. IN 1955 BECAUSE HE EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL ARTISTIC VIEWS IN WRITTEN FORM, HU FENG AND HIS ASSOCIATES WERE DECLARED GUILTY OF FORMING A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY CLIQUE INCLUDING OVER TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE. IN 1957, THE INTELLECTUALS WHO DARED TO SPEAK FRANKLY IN ANSWER TO THE CALL FOR A "HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTENT" WERE ALL LABELED "RIGHTISTS," NUMBERING 11 PERCENT OF ALL INTELLECTUALS (AT A MINIMUM 550,000 PEOPLE). THE 10 YEARS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BEGINNING IN 1966

WERE A GREATER NATIONAL DISASTER FOR THE PEOPLE BY ELIMINATING DISSIDENT VIEWS. AFTER 1978 THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED SOMEWHAT, THE MISTAKEN CASES NOTED ABOVE WERE BASICALLY OVERTURNED, AND WE HAVE SEEN AN INITIAL LOOSENING AND THE BEGINNING OF RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BUT, BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE TO REALIZE TRUE REFORM AND OPENING AND THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE NECESSARY FOR MODERNIZATION, THE RESULT WAS THE HUMAN TRAGEDY OF JUNE 4, 1989 WHICH SHOCKED THE WORLD, ALONG WITH THE SERIES OF INCIDENTS VIOLATING CITIZENS' BASIC RIGHTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

IN ORDER TO WELCOME THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BROADCAST THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE THAT IS INDISPENSABLE FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION AND FOSTER THE TRUE IMPLEMENTATION IN OUR COUNTRY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE UN CHARTER TO "PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE ADHERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASIC FREEDOMS AMONG ALL MANKIND."

WITH THIS INTENT, WE HOPE THAT THE AUTHORITIES:

1. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE PETITION FOLLOWS:

LETTER DATED APRIL 15, 1995 FROM XU LIANGYING TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI:

THIS YEAR IS THE UNITED NATIONS YEAR FOR TOLERANCE. ON THE GROUNDS OF MY MANY YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF WORLD SCIENCE AND MODERN CIVILIZATION, I STRONGLY FEEL THAT TOLERANCE IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION; BUT THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF OUR COUNTRY LACKS A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE AND IS USED TO HAVING A UNIFORMLY IMPOSED IDEOLOGY. THE LACK OF THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE IS THE MAIN BARRIER TO THE REALIZATION OF MODERNIZATION IN OUR COUNTRY. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION, I HAVE DRAFTED "A PLEA GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, A CALL TO REALIZE TOLERANCE INSIDE CHINA." I HAVE RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MY TEACHER, TO WHOM I AM GRATEFUL, THE 88-YEAR OLD NUCLEAR PHYSICIST MR. WANG GANCHANG AND OTHER ELDER INTELLECTUALS (THE 91-YEAR OLD AUTHOR MR. LOU SHIYI), AND I HAVE ALSO RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MANY ACADEMIC FRIENDS (MOST ARE PROFESSORS AT THE CHINESE ACADEMY

OF SCIENCES, THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SEVERAL FAMOUS UNIVERSITIES) AND SEVERAL YOUNG FRIENDS (THEY HAVE ALL RECEIVED INTOLERANT TREATMENT). PLEASE CONSIDER AND ACCEPT THIS PLEA SIGNED WITH 45 NAMES IN LIGHT OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE REALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL STABILITY.

GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, A CALL FOR TOLERANCE WITHIN CHINA

ON DECEMBER 20, 1993, THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 48-126 PROCLAIMING 1995 THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE AS A WAY FOR MARKING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN, AND OF PROCLAIMING THE BASIC SPIRIT EMBODIED IN THE UN: TOLERANCE. OUR COUNTRY IS A

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(1) USE A TOLERANT SPIRIT IN RESPONDING TO ALL SORTS OF OPINIONS ON IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL THOUGHT AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF. NEVER AGAIN CONSIDER PEOPLE HOLDING INDEPENDENT THOUGHTS OR VIEWS "ENEMY ELEMENTS," AND OPPRESS, ATTACK, SURVEIL, HOLD UNDER HOUSE ARREST OR EVEN ARREST THEM.

(2) HOLDING A SPIRIT OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS, RE-EVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND ALSO RELEASE

FROM PRISON THE PEOPLE INVOLVED.

(3) RELEASE ALL PERSONS INCARCERATED FOR THEIR THOUGHTS, STATEMENTS AND BELIEFS AND RESOLUTELY END THE INGLOUS ANCIENT TRADITION OF LITERARY CRIMES.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE ALSO HOPE THAT THE ENTIRE SOCIETY CAN NURTURE A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TOWARD OTHERS AND SUPPORT A RATIONAL JUST ATTITUDE TOWARD HANDLING ALL SORTS OF CONTRADICTIONS AND DISPUTES, USING PEACEFUL MEANS TO EXPRESS THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS AND OPINIONS, AVOIDING RADICAL EMOTIONS WHICH STRENGTHEN CONTRADICTIONS AND ABSOLUTELY REFRAIN FROM VIOLENT ACTIONS. ONLY IN THIS WAY, WILL OUR COUNTRY BE ABLE TO PROCEED IN A STABLE FASHION DOWN THE ROAD OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND MODERNIZATION.

OF COURSE, IN CALLING FOR TOLERANCE, THIS DOES NOT MEAN NOT JUST KEEPING ON GOOD TERMS WITH EVERYONE WITHOUT REGARD FOR RIGHT AND WRONG. TOLERANCE CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW. THEY ARE MUTUALLY SUPPORTED AND MUTUALLY ACHIEVED. TOLERANCE IS A

CONCEPT WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. IT IS A REQUIREMENT FOR POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION. TOLERANCE IS DEMONSTRATED IN RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND ALSO TAKING MORAL STANDARDS AND LAW AS LIMITS. AT PRESENT IN OUR

COUNTRY CORRUPTION IS SPREADING, CORRUPT PHENOMENA SUCH AS EXCHANGING INFLUENCE FOR MONEY AND MISUSING PUBLIC FUNDS ARE INCREASING. ONE MUST BE THOROUGH IN EXTERMINATING AN EVIL WHICH THREATENS TO HARM THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE. BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC SUPERVISION, ESPECIALLY THE SUPERVISION OF INDEPENDENT PUBLIC OPINION, CORRUPTION CANNOT BE COMPLETELY ELIMINATED. THE ENGLISH HISTORIAN LORD ACTON POINTED OUT AS EARLY AS 100 YEARS AGO: "POWER LEADS TO CORRUPTION. ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY." IN 1989, THE FRENCH STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS POINTED THIS OUT EVEN MORE CLEARLY: IGNORANCE OR NEGLECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS THE SOLE CAUSE OF PUBLIC MISFORTUNE AND GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION. THIS UNCHANGING TRUTH SHOULD BECOME PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED AT ALL LEVELS IN OUR COUNTRY. REALIZING TOLERANCE WILL FORCEFULLY ADVANCE THE ANTI-CORRUPTION STRUGGLE WHICH IS OF CONCERN TO ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY.

THE WORLD NEEDS TOLERANCE. CHINA NEEDS TOLERANCE. WE HOPE THAT THROUGH ALL THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE THAT THE SITUATION OF INTOLERANCE WHICH HAS EXISTED IN OUR COUNTRY SINCE ANCIENT TIMES WILL BEGIN TO CHANGE AND THAT TOLERANCE WILL GRADUALLY BECOME A FORM OF SPIRITUAL WEALTH ENJOYED BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY.

SIGNED:

WANG GANCHANG 3769/3227/2498

LOU SHIYI 2869/6624/1138
YANG XIANYI 2799/2889/4135
ZHOU FUCHENG 0719/6534/2052
WU ZUGUANG 0702/4371/0342
XU LIANGYING 6079/5328/5391
LIN MU 2651/3668
GUO XINGXIAN 6665/5281/0341
XUE YUGU 5641/4416/6253
ZHU ZHAOXIANG 2612/0348/4382
HU JIMIN 5170/3444/3846
HUANG ZONGZHEN 7806/1358/3914
WANG RONG 3076/1363
WANG LAIDI 3076/0171/2769
ZHAO ZHONGLI 6392/0022/4539
HU YADONG 5170/0068/2639
WANG YUEXIAN 3076/1878/0341
LI PEISHAN 2621/0168/3750
HUANG WEI 7806/3555
DONG GUANGBI 5516/0342/1084
FAN DAINIAN 5400/1486/1628
ZHOU MINGZHEN 0719/2494/6966
XU GUOZHI 6079/0948/1807
JIANG LIJIN 5592/7787/6855
HU ZUOXUAN 5170/0155/3763
DING ZILIN 0002/1311/7207
JIANG PEIKUN 5592/1014/0981
LIU LIAO 0491/6697
DONG YANKAI 5516/1693/7065
WANG FUREN 3769/1381/0088
WANG RUOSHUI 3769/5387/3055
WANG ZISONG 3076/1311/1529

ZHANG YISAN 1728/1355/0005
LIANG ZHIXUE 2733/1807/1331
HUANG XIANG 7806/5846
BAO ZUNXIN 0545/6690/0207
WU ZHEN 0702/7201
WANG LINGYUN 3769/0407/0061
CHEN XIAOYA 7115/1420/7161
LI GUIREN 2621/6311/0008
WANG DAN 3769/0030
WU XUECAN 0702/1331/3503
WANG QISHENG 3076/2759/3932
LIU NIANCHUN 0491/1819/2504
YANG HAI 2254/3189
ROY

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